1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

From 1788 till the defeat and death of Tippu in 1799, Vīra Rāja IV helped the English in their wars against Mysore. Richter tells us that in 1792 when Lord Cornwallis had driven Tippu into Seringapaṭam and the British occupied that island, 'about 5,000 Coorgs who had been carried away by Tippu, with their wives and children, altogether about 12,000 souls, made their escape in the confusion that ensued and returned to their native country'.[1] Their old homes and lands were restored to the returning exiles, and they seem to have been accepted back into the Coorg fold without difficulty. 175

Vīra Rāja ruled till 1809 when he died, leaving behind only daughters. This gave rise to the inevitable succession disputes in which, in the end, Linga Rāja II, younger brother of the dead king, emerged triumphant in 1811. He ruled till his death in 1820 when he was succeeded by his twenty-year-old son Chikka Vīra Rāja (Vīra Rāja V). The latter was an incompetent and sensuous tyrant, and in 1834 he was deposed by the British who annexed Coorg. The rule of the Lingāyaṭ Rājas had come to an end.

V

Lewis Rice tells us that Coorgs formed the bulk of the armies of the Rājas.[2] He writes, 181 726

> these mountaineers (Coorgs) had a considerable share of intrepidity and perseverance; stratagem entered largely into their system of tactics, in war they were remarkable for their predatory habits, and their neighbours accused them on those occasions of adding cruelty to pillage. Like the modern guerilla, though they were unable to contend openly with regular troops, they intercepted their supplies, cut off their communications, and harassed them by surprises, a species of warfare admirably adapted to second the natural difficulties that a hilly country must present. An intimate knowledge of it, a strict obedience, and a singular devotion to their chief [i.e. Rāja] accompanied by a remarkable attachment to their wilds and an equal gallantry in defending them, may in some measure perhaps have compensated the want of military skill.[3]

The system of land tenure prevalent in Coorg directly contributed to the maintenance and development of the military tradition of Coorgs. Land revenue was the principal source of the wealth of the Rājas. The assessment was based on a survey and 423 701

[1] Op. cit., vol. iii, p. 327. [2] Ibid. [3] Op. cit., p. 326.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

701
423

classification of all cultivated land in Coorg. In 1812, during the reign of Linga Rāja II, a general settlement was made and this was recorded in a book called *Hukum Nāma*. All cultivated land was divided into farms (*vargas*), and every farm was entered in the register along with the type of tenure it was held under.

The *jamma* system of land tenure under which most Coorgs held (and even now hold) land was the basis of their military tradition. It was an hereditary right passing from father to son, and was for this reason called *jamma*, a corruption of the Sanskrit *janma* which means 'birth'. It was not, however, confined to Coorgs. Kannaḍa Okkaligas, Tuḷu Gaudas, smiths (Airis), potters (Kumbāras), and Māpiḷḷa immigrants from Malabar enjoyed the privilege and prestige of holding land on *jamma* tenure. The Rājas occasionally offered *jamma* tenure as a bait both to induce certain artisan and trading castes from outside to settle down in Coorg and to induce local people to reclaim forest or waste land.

The *jamma* tenure was a very light one in terms of money, being only five rupees or a hundred *bhaṭṭis* of wet land. A hundred *bhaṭṭis* of wet land means an area of land producing a hundred *bhaṭṭis* of paddy. The area of land required to produce that amount varies according to the fertility of the soil, and arable land is classified into seven grades for purposes of assessment.

Along with the assesssed rice-field went two unassessed stretches of land: one was *bāṇé*, the highland adjacent to the rice-field and clothed with jungle from which the cultivator's joint family obtained its supply of fuel, timber, and forest produce; and the other was *bariké*, low-lying pasturage for the cultivator's cattle.

Legally, *jamma* land was impartible, inalienable, and could not be sublet without the permission of the Rāja, and, most important of all, people holding land on the *jamma* tenure were liable to be called up for military service. Richter writes in 1870 that 'the *jamma* ryots [cultivators] are still liable to be called out to repel outward aggression or quell internal disturbances, and to furnish all police- and treasure-guards, escorts, &c., in time of peace'.[1]

Every family holding *jamma* land had to perform guard duties for fifteen days in the year, during which time the guards were maintained at public expense though not paid. Not all the men of a joint family were employed on guard duties at the same time.

[1] Op. cit., p. 402.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Some were left free to look after land, and even those who were posted on guard duties were posted near their fields.

Jamma tenure conferred a double prestige on the holder in addition to the undoubted economic advantage. It signified that the holder had his roots in Coorg, and the duty of rendering military service to the state in times of emergency conferred on him the second type of prestige. The other important tenure in Coorg was *sāgu*, in which not only was land assessed at ten rupees per hundred *bhaṭṭis* of land, being twice the rate for *jamma* land, but also the holder was liable to render every type of service to the state except military service. During Richter's time, but for forty Coorgs, all the people holding land on *sāgu* tenure were non-Coorgs.[1]

The Rājas occasionally granted land on *jamma* tenure to non-Coorgs as a special mark of favour. Occasionally, Coorgs who held land on *jamma* tenure were transferred to the *sāgu* class as punishment for wrongs done by them.

VI

During the two centuries of rule by the Rājas, Coorg underwent a number of changes, political, administrative, and social. The authority of the local chieftains or Nāyakas was destroyed and the administration was centralized. The Rājas established a postal service (*anché*) for the use of officials only. Land was surveyed thoroughly, and the type of tenure under which each farm was held was recorded in the *Hukum Nāma* of Linga Rāja II (1811–20). The *Hukum Nāma* also contained a few paragraphs dealing with the powers of officials to try cases, civil and criminal, without reference to the Rāja. Serious offences like adultery, murder, and treason were tried by the Rāja himself. The recognition of the authority of the headman of a village and his council of elders was a general feature of the administrative system of the Rājas. They also recognized the authority of caste elders to try and settle caste disputes.

The long and bitter struggle with Haider and Tippu increased the sense of national identity of the inhabitants of Coorg. Coorgs played an important part in this struggle as they formed the bulk of the Rājas' soldiery, and also because they were specially selected for barbarous treatment by Tippu Sultan.

[1] Op. cit., p. 406.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

The Rājas were Kannaḍigas and under their rule the importance of Kannaḍa culture increased in Coorg at the expense of Malayāḷam. They were also Lingāyaṭs, who are staunch vegetarians and teetotallers, and possess a powerful and highly organized church of their own. Fifty-seven Lingāyaṭ *maṭhas* or monasteries, some of them heavily endowed, existed in north Coorg during Richter's time.[1]

The religion of the Rājas left its mark on the general population, and especially on Coorgs. The latter constituted the aristocracy under the Rājas, and a number of them held important posts at the Rājas' courts. Members of the royal family occasionally married Coorgs. The close contact which Coorgs enjoyed with the Rājas certainly helped in the spread of the culture and religion of the latter.

Many Coorgs even today adorn their foreheads with three horizontal, finger-wide, stripes of *vibhūti* or sacred ashes, a mark used by devotees of Shiva in all parts of India. Coorg folksongs frequently refer to a man or woman praying to Shiva soon after getting up in the morning. Most of the important temples visited by Coorgs are Shaivite in character.

VII

The annexation of Coorg by the British in 1834 marks the beginning of the operation of vast political, economic, social, and ideological forces on the people of that tiny province. For instance, the British gave *jagirs* or assessment-free lands to those Coorgs who had helped them in the suppression of the Canara Rebellion of 1837, and later these were allowed to be treated as gifts to the individuals concerned and not to their joint families. Traditionally, the joint family was the unit which owned land, and individuals owned only a little cash and a few movables. But by 1870, less than forty years after the annexation of Coorg by the British, some individual Coorgs had acquired for themselves farms and coffee plantations. Richter applauds the change:

> . . . these individual enterprises seem to be the natural transition to an impending general social reform—the breaking up of the great houses, and the independent establishment of each married couple residing near their own paddy-fields, and eating the fruit of their own labour. The

[1] Op. cit., pp. 175-6.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

started by freeing the slaves on the royal farms, and this was later extended to include all slaves.

There was a landslide in the general economy of the country when the slaves suddenly left their masters to work on the coffee plantations. The masters then found that they were unable to cultivate all the wet land in their estate, but under the conditions of *jamma* tenure they were required to pay an assessment of five rupees per hundred *bhaṭṭis* of land on all wet land irrespective of whether it was under the plough or not. It was then that the government permitted them to sublet not more than a fourth of the wet land.[1]

[1] 'No remission of *jamma*-rent is ever made, except under extraordinary circumstances, such as the death of several members of a family, the entire destruction of property by fire or the loss of a large number of cattle. In these cases and when the produce of their lands has been very meagre, the *jamma* ryots [peasants] are allowed to pay Rs 10 per 100 *bhaṭṭis* for the quantity of land which has been cultivated, instead of *five* rupees *for the whole* farm. It is also customary, under such circumstances, or when only women and young children are left in the house to permit the whole of the *jamma* lands to be sublet on *vāra* tenure [division of the crop in equal halves between the tenant and landlord] for periods ranging from one to five years according to the particulars of each case.' Richter, op. cit., pp. 402–3.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

mortar, with solid, carved woodwork. Masons and carpenters from Malabar build them, and Coorg ancestral houses consequently resemble greatly the houses of well-to-do Nāyars. The house is usually situated on an elevation, and a narrow, high-walled and winding lane (*ōṇi*) leads up to it. From the windows in the upper story one usually obtains a fine view of the surrounding country. Formerly, in the days when feuds, or *kuḍupi* (*kuḍippaka* in Malayāḷam), between joint families were common, and a surprise raid (*kaḷḷa paḍé*) from a hostile *okka* was always a possibility, anyone coming with unfriendly intentions exposed himself to view from the windows of the ancestral house. The house was built like a fortress and was able to stand a siege for several days.

The ancestral estate usually includes an extent of jungle, some grazing land, and valleys in which rice is grown. The jungle provided the household with the necessary timber and fuel. A part of the jungle is reserved for burying or cremating the dead members of the *okka*. There is a kitchen-garden near the main building. A well or pond provides water for domestic purposes.

Every house includes an ancestor-shrine or ancestor-platform. Uncarved stones, representing cobra-deities, are planted on platforms built around the trunk of a milk-exuding tree. There may also be other uncarved stones representing minor deities like Pūda and Guḷika.

According to Lewis Rice,[1] in the seventies of the last century the Coorg *okka* frequently consisted of twenty or thirty, and occasionally even fifty members, all residing under one roof. He further tells us that previous to the invasion of Coorg by Tippu Sultan in the latter half of the eighteenth century, it was not uncommon to find in a house thirty or forty adult male relatives living together. Many *okkas* seem to have had 120 to 150 people, all living in the ancestral house.

Nowadays the *okka* commonly consists of two or three generations of agnatically-related males, their wives, and their children. Girls born in the *okka* go out on marriage as residence is patrilocal, but it sometimes happens that a woman remains unmarried for a variety of reasons. In such a case she stays in her natal *okka*. An *okka* also includes the widow of a deceased member. As mentioned earlier, leviratic unions are preferred amongst Coorgs, and a widow

[1] *Mysore and Coorg*, Bangalore, 1878, vol. iii, p. 329.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Until the beginning of the last century the immovable property of an *okka* was regarded as impartible, and property descended from one generation to another without being split up in the process. In this respect Coorgs differed from other Hindus and, consequently, Coorg agriculture escaped the two great drawbacks of agriculture elsewhere in India, the subdivision of land into minute holdings and fragmentation or scattering of holdings over a wide area.

All earlier writers on Coorg—Connor, Moegling, Cole, and Rice[1]—are unanimous in holding that the immovable property of a Coorg *okka* is traditionally impartible. But some time after the defeat of Tippu in the closing years of the eighteenth century, some Coorg *okkas* were permitted by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas,[2] used to the Hindu idea of partition, to divide off. The example of these Coorgs was followed by many others. Consequently, 'in 1858 the *takkas* [social heads] and headmen of the Coorgs represented that the loss and ruin occasioned to their ancient houses by this innovation [was very great], and the Judicial Commissioner in additional Special Appeal Suit No. 117 of 1858–9 passed a decree declaring that division was contrary to the ancient custom of Coorg'.[3] The fact that the ancestral property was impartible was responsible to a great extent for preventing the *okka* from splitting.

The British also encouraged, although indirectly, the idea of partition of the ancestral property. They granted, for instance, *jagirs* or assessment-free lands to Coorgs who had taken part in the suppression of the Canara Rebellion of 1837. These *jagirs* were granted to individuals and not to the *okkas* of which they were members.

Coorgs who were government officials under the British bought farms and coffee- and orange-gardens with their savings, and the law courts established by the British permitted these to be regarded as the property of the individual acquirer and not of the *okka* of

[1] Connor, *Memoirs of the Codagu Survey*, pt. ii, Bangalore, 1870, pp. 29–30; H. Moegling, *Coorg Memoirs*, 1855, p. 30; R. A. Cole, *Manual of Coorg Law*, secs. 115–17; L. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. iii, p. 329.

[2] Rice tells us that the Lingāyaṭ Rājas encouraged the idea of partition in order to break up the huge joint families of Coorgs. The Rājas wanted to increase the area under cultivation and also, according to Rice, they disliked intensely the fraternal polyandry of Coorgs. Rice remarks, 'Coorgs still viewed any deviation from this ancient custom [of polyandry] with the greatest abhorrence.' Op. cit., p. 329.

[3] Cole, op. cit., secs. 160, 165, 182.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

which he was a member.[1] In addition to this, recent changes in Hindu law, which apply to Coorgs also, have been such as to encourage individual acquisition at the expense of the *okka*.

The ancient custom of Coorgs recognized individual property only to a very limited extent, and that too only in movables. For instance, the younger members of an *okka* could cultivate, in the non-paddy season, and after they had contributed their daily quota of work to the joint estate, crops like ginger and turmeric. When these were sold a share was given to the *okka* for having provided the land on which they were grown.

The encouragement given to the ideas of partition and individual acquisition, the uprooting of Coorgs from their ancestral estates owing to the new political and economic structure stretching all over India, and the growing appeal of individualist ideas to the people, are all adversely affecting the solidarity of the *okka*. The elementary family, which was a weak entity in the traditional structure, is emerging with greater distinctness nowadays.

IX

In a sense, only men are full members of the *okka*, but such rights as women do possess in it are of paramount importance to them, and the granting of these rights in the bridegroom's *okka* is the crucial point in the marriage ritual. The granting of rights to the bride in the groom's *okka* is accompanied by the severance of her connexion with her natal *okka*. But such severance is not complete and irrevocable. The entire process is symbolized in the transference of twelve pebbles from the bride's natal *okka* to her conjugal *okka*.

After marriage, then, a girl is a member of her conjugal *okka*, and her membership does not become extinct even if she becomes a widow. She is entitled to stay in her conjugal home and to be maintained out of its income. She has also the right to be buried after death in its burial-ground.

The bride is given membership in the groom's *okka*, and not rights in the groom's share in the ancestral property of his *okka*. The entire idea of an individual having a share in the ancestral property of his *okka* is a comparatively recent introduction into Coorg law. Traditionally, the immovable property of an *okka*

[1] G. Richter, *Manual of Coorg*, p. 130.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

[p 228]

VIII

RELIGION AND SOCIETY

I

243 788 COORG is primarily an agricultural country, and the bulk of the Coorg community is directly dependent on the land. Even those who are employed in the government have one or more branches of their *okkas* living in the ancestral house and attending to the cultivation of their ancestral lands.

There was no coffee in Coorg over a hundred years ago, and rice was then the most important crop in every way. A Coorg *okka*, and the family (or families) of Poleyas who were its slaves, cultivated the ancestral rice-fields. The Poleyas did much of the actual manual work on the estate under the close supervision of their Coorg masters; and every member of the Coorg *okka* directly or indirectly contributed to the work on the estate.

243 [438] [796] A Coorg was completely preoccupied with the cultivation of rice from May to January, beginning with the first ploughing of the fields in May and ending with the harvesting of the crop in January. The surplus rice was sold in Malabar every summer, and this necessitated the organization of an annual caravan in which every *okka* in the village (or *nāḍ*) participated. The festivals of the village-deities and weddings were performed in the summer months, after the men had returned from Malabar. Thus the social activities of a Coorg revolved round and adjusted themselves to the cultivation of rice and the sale of the surplus in Malabar.

The ancestral estate on which rice is grown, the ploughing, sowing, transplanting, and harvesting of the crop, the granary in which paddy is stored, and the measures used for measuring paddy and rice all receive ritual attention.

423 778 784 The ancestral estate, the most valuable part of which is the rice-field, is regarded as sacred. A Coorg is not allowed to walk in it wearing his sandals, just as he is not allowed to enter the inner parts of the ancestral house, or a temple, with his sandals on. He is also not allowed to whistle, or hold an umbrella over his head, while walking in the ancestral estate: both these acts are not consistent with the ritual respect which the estate has to be accorded.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

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Article No. 4.

Kinship and marriage among the Coorgs.[1]

By M. B. Emeneau.

(*Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.*)

The Coorgs are an endogamous community of about 40,000 people who form approximately a quarter of the population of the province of Coorg, which lies in the mountains of western South India between Mysore State and British Malabar. They were originally the warrior owners of this tract and formed, and still form, the highest community in the social scale there (barring the few Brahmans who live in the province). It is doubtful how far they can be considered a caste in any strict Indian sense of the word, for they resolutely refuse to accept the ministrations of the Brahmans in any of their rites. No accurate ethnological account of these people has yet appeared. This paper gives a description of the marriage rites and the kinship system of those Coorgs who live in the central portion of the province, i.e. in Mercara and Virajpet and the district between these two towns and in Nalknad to the west; how far, if at all, the northern and southern extremities of the province present differences of detail is not known.

Kinship organization among the Coorgs takes the form essentially of father-sibs. Each sib (called oka) is marked as such by its name, which is borne by each member as his or her first name. All land is owned ideally, and a great part of it actually, by the sib as such and not by the individual; departures from this ownership system, whereby an individual by his own initiative or good fortune and without depending on the sib property acquires property which he holds as an individual, do not affect his position with regard to the sib property nor do they give the other sib-members a claim upon his individual property. In other words, individual ownership of land is an excrescence upon the traditional sib-ownership. It is the sib, moreover, that

[1] This paper represents part of the work done in 1936-37 during my tenure of a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society. The phonetic writing used is in general that of the IPA. ə is the back, mid, unrounded vowel; c and j are palatal affricates, y is practically the English y. I write a subscript n at the end of a word to denote that the whole word is nasalized; e.g. in maːvn, both the vowels and v are nasalized. The nasalization is best evaluated phonemically as a feature of the whole word and not of any separate vocalic or consonantal phoneme. When a suffix is added or the word becomes a member of a compound (e.g. in tamma: viⁿ), the nasalization does not extend beyond the limits of the simplex.

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

596 generally well guarded in the use of proper expressions in their talk with the young. The educated men of the present day exercise a potent influence for good in the normal conversation, and show due respect to their [607] brother's wife with whom no familiarity is allowed. There is a tendency [173] at present among the discontented members to break up the ancestral family [578] by a division of the family property among the members.

Property and Disposal

● 423 The property of the Coorgs consists chiefly of the ancestral house and the land belonging to it which under the Rajas was held on a feudal 425 tenure and on a light assessment termed *jamma bhumi* or birthright land, 177 because it was inalienably vested in the family or house, and the British Government confirmed the settlement. Additional land was taken up by them on the *sagu* tenure, but, in course of time, Government allowed to some extent such *sagu* land to be converted into *jamma* land. Other land held as jagir was granted for certain Government service as *umbli* land on a light assessment. During the last thirty years, many houses have opened out coffee plantations on their own or Govern- 434 ment land, or rented cardamom jungles. Thus the actual wealth of the 421 Coorgs consists of landed property and their prosperity depends on the 596 exertions and means of cultivation; but imprudent enterprises and un- [556] expected reverses have caused much embarrassment. Formerly, all the members of a Coorg house lived together in the ancestral home or in some outfarm, *koppu*, neither of which could be alienated nor subdivided among the members of the family. All of them worked for the common good under the management of the *yajamana* or *karakara*, and had their subsistence on the proceeds. Any surplus on the annual reckoning became [433] the property of the house for providing incidental expenditure on the occasion of marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, as also for the purchase of new land in the interest of the family. If, however, an individual member by becoming a salaried officer or by coming into possession of money through marriage, was enabled to enter upon private speculation without any aid from the ancestral house, any property or acquirements thus made became his private property and were left at his own disposal by gift or will. Many young men have thus become [591] separated from the ancestral house and established a new homestead, and as long as they contributed to the expenses of the former, they maintained [182] their share in the proceeds. This is the proper mode of setting up a new house. Disintegration is now setting in, and some try to break up the ancestral houses by a division of the landed property among the members.

Adoption

597 The right of adoption is given to every Coorg house in the absence of male issue, or by an unmarried man or woman or widower in order to secure the inheritance of personal property or rights.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

356 The house and yard are generally kept clean and orderly,
574 and the announcement of an approaching honored visitor sets at once the broom into activity and you may arrive just in time to see the retreating Coorg damsel and have to swallow the raised dust. However, the object is attained, you perceive what attention has been paid to you.

312 A stone built deep well is usually in the compound or the
[515] water is fetched from a hole sunk by the side of the paddy-fields, and near the well is the hut for hot bathing.

357 The low caste servants have their huts at some distance
564 from the Coorg house; the meals given them they eat on
361 plantain leaves apart from their masters.
264

As already remarked the Coorg house is the domicile of all the male relatives with their wives and children belonging
591 to one parental stock. The landed property, or Jamma-pûmi,
423 is vested in the house and cannot be alienated from it, or
[476] divided amongst its members. The farm is cultivated by all
[241] the housepeople under the management of the master of the house, and the produce is divided amongst them after the Huttari feast. It often occurs, however, that an energetic member of the house or one in Government employment, acquires for himself some fields called Koppa, which are his own, and if sufficient for the support of his family, he may
591 live there and establish a new house. Others own a small
423 coffee plantation or cardamom-garden, and these individual
178 enterprises seem to be the natural transition to an impending general social reform—the breaking up of the great houses, and the independent establishment of each married couple residing near their own paddy-fields, and eating the fruit of their own labour. The indolent will then have to work for their subsistence or sink into misery, the industrious and thrifty will prosper, and after a period of no little angry strife a happier life of personal freedom and domestic felicity will be the inheritance of future generations. The only danger to be apprehended is the tendency of the rich houses absorb-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

ing the poor ryots and reducing them to a state of servitude. A wise Government will, however, watch with solicitude the spontaneous development of the reform, and the more it is the work of the people themselves, the surer will be its successful accomplishment.

591 423 178

b. Prescriptive law of inheritance.

428

Sons, grandsons, brothers, brothers' sons, daughters, daughters' sons, cousins and adopted sons have the right of succession to inherit property successively in the order here mentioned. Property, in default of offspring, on the death of a man devolves on his widow; if he leaves a son under age, the widow is his guardian, and takes possession of the property. If the deceased leaves neither wife nor sons, but a grandson and a brother, or a brother's son, the property is divided, provided the family be undivided; but if it be divided the grandson takes possession of the whole property. The law of primogeniture, however, now prevails and division is strictly prohibited.

If the deceased leaves neither wife, nor children, nor grandsons, the property devolves on his brother or his brother's sons, if any, as the nearest relations. In cases where the deceased has left neither wife nor sons nor brothers, but a daughter not married, the relations of the family put her in possession of the property, and dispose of her in marriage, and on her death her husband or her sons inherit it. But if a man dies leaving a daughter not married, and a brother's son or a grandson, the family being undivided, the property used to be liable to a division. In failure of the preceding persons, the property used sometimes to descend to the cousins, and sometimes not, as the Government determined. In cases where the deceased leaves a son under age without relatives to protect him, the Government appoints the head of the village to act as guardian to the boy and to take charge of

429 428 [884]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

of the Jail, exercises the powers of a Magistrate over its inmates, who are superintended by a European Jailor.

The *Police*, with the exception of a small regular body of a miserable description in Mercara and Vírájenderpet, still maintains its rural character, as best adapted to the country.

According to the returns of the annual "Judicial Reports," the inhabitants of Coorg are neither remarkable[1] for their litigiousness, nor for an excess of criminality.

3. ADMINISTRATION OF REVENUE.

a. Land Revenue.

The Land Revenue constituted the chief source of the wealth of the Coorg Rájahs. It still forms the principal item in the annual income of Government. It will, therefore, be of interest to analyze the mode of assessment, peculiar to Coorg, for generations in use and still upheld by the British Government. The settlement was made in 1812[2] by Lingarájender, who caused the Shist accounts to be preserved in a kind of Domesday-Book in which all the vargas or farms are registered with great detail and accuracy, noting also the tenure under which each varga is held.

According to this *quasi settlement in perpetuity* we have to distinguish, besides the rentfree holdings, *four different kinds of tenures of land: Jamma, Ságu, Umbali and Jódi-tenure*, an arrangement nearly allied to what is called "Shivappa Naik's Shist" i. e. an assessment fixed in the time of Shivappa Naik, a polygar of Naggara.

The *Jamma-tenure*, from the Sanscrit "janma," a word conveying the meaning of "hereditary by birth," is the holding of the privileged class, called *Jamma-ryots*, comprising: Coorgs, Amma-Coorgs, Hegadas, Eimbokalas, Airis, Koyavas, Moplas and Gaudas. The light assessment of Rs. 5 per 100 butties of wet land with its accompanying Báné and Bariké was made originally on condition of military and general

[1] [Errata: this should read "remarkable as neither." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 474 -- Analyst]

[2] [Errata: This should read "in 1813." -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

651 service to the State. The Jamma-ryots are still liable to be
423 called out to repel outward aggression or quell internal dis-
565 turbances, and to furnish all Police- and Treasure-guards,
701 escorts, etc. in time of peace. Excepting old men and boys, there are now 7070 active Jamma-ryots of whom 4910 are Coorgs and, next in number, 1244 Gaudas.

423 The *Butty account* is a peculiar one and dates from the
651 time of Lingarájender, who in 1813 had all the ricelands
433 measured and the result registered; 100 butties of wet land mean an area which produces 100 butties at 80 seers per butty of paddy or rice in the husk. Since this produce, however, is depending on the fertility of the soil, it is clear, that the area of 100 butties varies according to the nature of the ground. There are 7 different qualities of fields, ascertained or supposed to produce 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, and 20 seers of paddy respectively on an area of land, containing 256 square feet or a square of one kólu (bambu) 16 feet long, the original measure used for determining this account. To produce then 100 butties or 8,000 seers of paddy from these seven different kinds of fields, 1000, 800, 660⅔, 570, 500, 440⅘, 400 times 256 square feet or about 5·87, 4·8, 3·92, 3·35, 2·93, 2·61, 2·35 acres respectively are required. As a fair average, therefore, 3 acres may be assigned as an equivalent of 100 butties of land.

311 *Báné* is the highland adjoining the ricefields and generally clothed with forest from which each farm obtains its firewood, manure, grass, etc.

651 *Barikó* is the low swampy portion of land adjacent to or
731 below the paddy fields, it remains uncultivated and is used
423 for grazing purposes.

No remission of the Jamma-rent is ever made, except under extraordinary circumstances, such as the death of several members of a family, the entire destruction of property by fire or the loss of a large number of cattle. In these cases

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

and when the produce of their lands has been very meagre, the Jamma-ryots are allowed to pay Rs. 10 per 100 butties *for the quantity of land which has been cultivated*, instead of *five* rupees *for the whole farm*. It is also customary, under such circumstances, or when only women and young children are left in the house, to permit the whole of the Jamma-lands to be sublet on vára-tenure (division of the crop in equal halves between the tenant and landlord) for periods ranging from 1 to 5 years according to the particulars of each case. On being invested with the proprietary right to a farm, the Jamma-ryot has to pay a donation of Rs. 10 per 100 butties called "Nuzur Kánike," in 3 yearly instalments, and a fee of Rs. one termed the "Gatti-Jamma fee," on taking possession of the land. On the same terms a Jamma-ryot may claim as much available land, as he may like to cultivate, provided he takes an entire farm, failing which his Jamma-rent is doubled for the additional portion. He likewise may also resign his Jamma-land or Government may, for good reasons, resume it. When invested with the land, by the Superintendent of Coorg, a formula is spoken, intimating, that the holder has received the hereditary right to the land on the feudal conditions laid down, and at the same time a handful of the soil of the land he has applied for is given to him. Similarly when resigning land, the Jamma-ryot lays down before the Superintendent a handful of the soil as a sign of his relinquishment of all rights to the land. Except with the consent of the Government Jamma-land cannot be alienated and is never marketable, nor can it be mortgaged.

A Jamma-farm consists of from 10 to 1,500 butties of wet land, according to the extent of soil susceptible of cultivation and from ancient times it had an apportioned number of slaves as "glebae adscripti." These became liberated under the British Government, but for many years their freedom was merely nominal and the economy of the Coorg houses

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

423 567 648 remained undisturbed. But the subsequent settlement of British planters rudely disturbed the dormant slave-question to the great inconvenience and loss of the Coorgs. Many slaves ran away from their masters who, unable to compete with the Planters' cash-payments, had no means of cultivating their farms. Government, though earnestly appealed to by the Coorgs, could not restore their slaves. The Coorgs then prayed, that they might be allowed, to sublet their Jamma-lands. The question with its various bearings was an important one both in the interest of Government and that of the Jamma-ryots. But the difficulty seems to have been judiciously and satisfactorily solved by Mr. Bowring, the late Chief Commissioner. It was decided, that one quarter of the entire holdings only should be allowed to be sublet on vára and that amongst the new tenants preferential claim should be given

423 427 648

1st to the holder of the farm,
2nd to the proprietor of the adjoining farm,
3rd to the cultivators of the same village,

so that, whilst the subletting Jamma-ryot is not relieved of his feudal obligation to Government, his more powerful or opulent neighbour has to contend against these preferential claimants.

651 423 427 That the measure affords relief to the ryots is proved by the fact, that on the 1st April 1870 73 Jamma-ryots had availed themselves of the boon to the extent of 12,642¼ butties of land. At the same time 112 ryots were allowed, on the plea of distress, to sublet Jumma-land amounting to 24,751¼ butties. It is assumed, that the expenses connected with the cultivation of 100 butties of wet land, when the ryot uses his own bullocks, amount to about 71 per cent of the whole out-turn, the land-tax on the holding is Rs. 5 per 100 butties, to which house-tax, Dhúli-paddy and other items, which bring up the total taxation to about 9 per cent, have

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

to be added; so that the profits are about 20 per cent. The farms produce also oranges, vegetables and coffee, free of tax on plots of Báné-land less than ten acres, which add to the income of the proprietor; but on the other hand, as all the members of the family live under the same roof and subsist on the produce of the same farm, there is little real profit left. However light the assessment of the Jamma-ryots may appear to be, the changes effected in the general administration of the country and the imposition of various taxes have greatly modified the relative value of this tenure. The establishment of a number of departments, the officers of which with their subordinates are frequently on the move, imposes—almost of necessity—services on the Jamma-ryots for the performance of which formerly their slaves were used and which consequently now the masters with their crude notions of free trade very unwillingly perform. Of the Coorgs, whose pride as a martial race has always been fostered by Government, it can hardly be expected, that they should readily carry the camp-loads, etc. of the public functionaries, and the exigencies of the Sirkar, in this respect, might perhaps be fulfilled without too much wounding the self-respect of the Coorgs. Many Jamma-ryots, it is said, are on the point of resigning their Jamma—with the intention of holding their land on Ságu-tenure and thus escaping these vexatious services!

In 1869-70 the revenue from Jamma-lands amounted to Rs. 50,893—9—9.

The next holding is called *Ságu-tenure* (from the Canarese ságu, to be under cultivation) and should be considered as the *normal assessment*, all others being exceptional. The tenants pay Rs. 10 per 100 butties land-tax, are not bound by their tenure to render feudal service to the State and may claim remission of assessment for those fields of their farms, which they are unable to cultivate. It is estimated, that of their total produce the Government demand amounts to 14

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

423 651 per cent and their profits, after deducting all expenses, hardly exceed 7 per cent in good seasons.

Excepting old men and boys in both cases, the number of Ságu-ryots is nearly double that of Jamma-ryots, amounting to 13,500 of whom the greatest number are Gaudas viz. 3654, and next Holeyas, viz. 3605. There are only 40 Coorgs holding land on Ságu-tenure.

423 643 648 [567] It may here be stated, that the late Rájah's twenty farms, called Panyas, which on the assumption of Coorg by the British in 1834 amounted to 46,872¼ butties of land with 168 predial and 1055 disposable slaves were, at the recommendation of the Devána, divided into the original vargas (farms) and disposed of like all other land held on Ságu-tenure, the predial slaves remaining attached to such estates as they belonged to and the others were entrusted to the care of respectable ryots, who were required to maintain them on the same terms as ordinary labourers, paying them the same rate of hire, demanding their attendance only during working hours, and especially allowing them the entire management and control of their family affairs and the settlement of their children's marriages. Some of the Panyas were allotted on Jódi tenure to religious establishments.

311 651 423 *Waste land*, now taken up for cultivation, is chiefly held on Ságu-tenure. Considering, however, the difficulty and expense of reclaiming waste land for wet cultivation, Government has sanctioned a certain progressive scale of taxation, according to the number of years, such farms have been lying waste. Thus land lain waste for 5-10 years, if brought under cultivation, pays one-fourth of the assessment the first year, half the second, three-quarter the third and the full amount of tax the fourth year. Besides this graduated assessment, for land left uncultivated from

10 to 15 years one year's assessment is remitted,
15 „ 25 „ two „ „ „

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

25 to 35 years three year's assessment is remitted, 311
35 „ 50 „ four „ „ „ 651
above 50 „ five „ „ „ 423 ●
after which periods of remission the above scale of taxation comes into force.

If any ryot, who undertakes to cultivate lands on these conditions, declines before the expiration of his term to cultivate any longer, he will be liable on relinquishing his land, to pay one-fourth of the amount of tax, which he would otherwise have been exempted from in the first year, half of the amount for two years, three-quarter for three years and the full amount of tax to be paid for four and five years. 423 651 686

It often happens, that a Ságu-ryot transfers his land for a certain sum of money in favor of another tenant; but, whilst Government does not forbid the transaction,—for the money thus obtained may be a fair reward for the ryot's trouble and expense on the land—,it does not admit the ryot's claim to proprietaryship in the land. On the ryot relinquishing his land, the name of the first applicant for the same will be registered without reference to any private arrangement, but such transfers are generally satisfactorily settled. 651 425 423

It may be remarked, that in Yélusávirashíme the Ságu-tax is levied on a portion of wet land capable of producing 60 Kandagas of grain, or 120 butties by measure at the rate of 16 rupees 651 423 [384]

The total revenue from Ságu-holdings amounted in 1869-70 to Rs. 77,246—15—5.

Umbali-tenure (from the Can. umbali, a plot of ground free of rent) is held on account of services performed by certain ryots in the Rájahs' times and is lightly taxed at three rates viz: one, two and a half and three rupees per 100 butties, a sannad (titledeed) for the tenure having been given by the Chief Commissioner. The revenue from this tenure being in 1869-70 Rs. 6774—3—6 and assuming the average tax

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

651 at the rate of Rs. 2—8 per 100 butties, the whole extent of
423 Umbali-tenure would be about 448,900 butties.

An addition, at least in name, to these Umbali-holdings
651 has been lately made at the recommendation of Capt. Cole,
423 who proposed "that a fixed remuneration in the shape of a
622 reduction in the assessment on the land, held by each Patél, be allowed to him as a "*Gaud-Umbali*" for the large additional work thrown on the Patéls by the effects of advancing civilization, by the opening out of the country and by the settlement of Europeans." This measure was hailed with satisfaction by the Patéls; most of them fixed the Umbali on the hereditary lands of their houses and in some cases the Umbali amounted to the entire assessment on their lands, which by this remission became virtually Jhágir or free, so that the "Gaud-Umbali" should be classed with the Inám-lands or freeholds.

651 The *Jódi-tenure* (from the Can. jódi, a favourable quit-
423 rent) is the holding of land which has been alienated to the office of the Patéls in the Yélusávirashíme- and Nanjarájpatna-taluq and for the maintenance of religious establishments, in all parts of Coorg. Half of its original assessment having been relinquished in favour of the holders, the Sirkar receives only Rs. 5 per 100 butties as from Jamma-land. Like this the former cannot be sublet and, if left uncultivated, it is at the disposal of the district officers and may be given by them to any ryot on Ságu-tenure, when 5 Rs. of the land-tax are paid to Government and the other 5 Rs. to the religious establishment to which it belongs. The revenue of the Jódi-tenure in 1869-70 was Rs. 5,930—5—7.

All these different holdings were liable to three additional taxes payable to Government viz: ghee-house- and Dhúlipaddy-tax.

The *ghee-tax* amounted to half a seer of ghee for every 100 butties of land and was paid in consideration of the Sirkar's expense on feasting the Coorgs, who assembled at

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AWS Coorg AWS

the Huttari- and Gauri-feast at the Rájah's palaces for exhibiting their national dance, accompanied by singing and instrumental music. At the general request of the people it was abolished, as the English Government neither fed nor gave the dancers presents on these occasions. 651 423

The *house-tax* is paid by every farmer at the rate of 9 As. 7 P. per family, Pariahs paying only half that sum. Merchants and other classes pay according to their caste or trade from 3 As. 2¼ P. to 3 Rs. 10 As. 10 P. per house. 243 423 651

The *Dhúli-paddy-tax* was originally of an eleemosynary character, being voluntarily given to the Haléri-Jangam who first pretended to be satisfied with an offering of the refuse paddy (Dhúli *Can.* dust) but, who on having usurped the Coorg Samsthán, imposed the tax by right on all ryots, vide p. 230. Since 1834 the rule was, that ryots, cultivating from 25 to 50 butties of wet land, had to pay ¼ of a butty of paddy—but no refuse!—and for 50 and upwards 1¼ butty of paddy to Government. In Gadinád and Yedavanád the ryots paid three Hannies or six seers in addition to every rupee paid for the land rent instead of the Dhúli-paddy-tax.

The paddy thus collected amounted in 1835 to 3,323 butties and in 1868-69, when this impost was commuted into a money payment of Rs. 3—3—7 per 1¼ butty or 120 seers,—this being the average market price of paddy for the 5 previous years—, it yielded Rs. 18,304—6—3 which at the above rate represents 8,516 butties, an increase of nearly 2¼ times and a considerable item in the land revenue!

The *Inám-holdings*, or rentfree lands, are either granted to religious institutions or for service rendered to the State and represent a nominal land-tax of Rs. 17,298—8—4. For *Dry-cultivation* the land is divided into fields and pieces of ground, denominated in the Registers respectively "Sargas" and "Tundus," each of the latter measuring from one to two cawnies and the former comprising from one to eight tundus. 423 651

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

423 651 Though the name, situation, size and extent of each tundu is minutely specified in the Registers, no mention is made of their estimated produce. Practice has, however, established the rule, that Government should receive one sixth of the gross produce, which in 1869-1870 effected a revenue of Rs. 9,362—3—5. When several families unite in cultivating pieces of dry land, each ryot contributing his share of labour and agricultural stock according to his means and receiving a corresponding proportion of the produce, such a farm is called "Hola-kula" or family field. The house-tax is, however, collected from each ryot.

423 651 245 With the year 1866-67 a new source of land revenue arose from the *assessment on land* taken up *for coffee cultivation*. After much deliberation and correspondence on the part of the "*Coorg Planters' Association*" and *Government*, the latter finally resolved in October 1863, to abolish the "Halut" or excise duty of 4 as. per maund of 28 lbs., or one rupee per hundredweight of clean coffee and to substitute on acreage rental on the following terms:

From the first to the fourth year the land is rentfree from the date of acceptance by the District Officer of the tender for the grant.

From the fifth to the ninth year one rupee per acre on the whole area, except a certain proportion of waste grass land.

From the tenth and subsequent years two rupees on the same area.

The Planters' Association (in September 1864) expressed itself entirely satisfied with these Rules which on the whole were considered both "just and liberal." A six years' experience, however, under adverse circumstances of bad seasons, Bug and Borer convinced the Planters, that the assessment, having been fixed upon too sanguine expectations of coffee-produce and therefore wrong premises, had turned out to be unjust and illiberal, and in some instances had become actually

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

oppressive. Government has therefore been addressed by the Association to relieve the distress of the Planters by reducing the assessment to eight annas per acre on the whole area, instead of two rupees. 657 423 245

The total revenue from coffee assessment amounted for 1869-70 to Rs. 89,942—1—5 against Rs. 91,251—12—5 for the year previous.

With regard to the *disposal* of *waste lands* the following Rules have been framed by Government: 648 656 423 425

I. Waste lands in which no rights of private proprietorship, or exclusive occupancy exist, and which may not be reserved as hereinafter (Rule XVIII) provided, may, until further notice, be sold under the following rules.

II. Applications for land under these rules, shall be addressed to the Superintendent of Coorg, and shall comprise the following particulars:—

a) The estimated area of the lot applied for.

b) The situation of the lot and its boundaries as accurately as can be stated.

III. No lot shall exceed 500 acres. Within the limits of towns, the maximum extent of a lot shall be 10 acres. But any person may apply for several contiguous lots, each not exceeding the above limits.

IV. Every lot shall be compact and shall include no more than one tract of land, capable of being surrounded by a ring fence, and when the lot touches a public road, the length of the road frontage shall not exceed one half of the depth of the lot.

V. No lot shall be sold until the area has been estimated by the Taluq authorities. Before a title-deed is granted the lot shall be surveyed by the Government Surveyors.

VI. If on receipt of an application under Rule II, the Superintendent has reason to believe, that the lot applied for is saleable under these Rules, he shall call upon the applicant to deposit with him the estimated cost of surveying the lot and of marking it out with boundary marks, unless the land has been already surveyed and demarkated. The Superintendent will refund to the depositor any portion of his deposit which may not be actually expended in the survey and demarkation, and the depositor shall pay any deficiency.

VII. If the applicant fails to deposit the sum required under Rule VI within six weeks from the date of demand, his application shall be null and void.

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VIII. On receipt of the deposit required under Rule VI, the Superintendent shall, as soon as possible, cause the area of the land applied for to be estimated by the Taluq authorities. He shall then advertise the lot for sale on a given day, to be fixed as to admit of the notice, required in Rule IX, being given.

IX. The advertisement shall be in English and in Canarese, and shall specify the locality, extent and boundaries of the lot, the annual assessment, and the place, time and conditions of sale. It shall be posted for three months at least on the land itself, as well as in the neighbouring villages, in the Offices of the Superintendent and the Subadár of the Taluq and the nearest Post Office. The Superintendent shall at his discretion fix the time and place of sale and may alter both, if necessary, provided that not less than 14 days' notice be publicly given of every such alteration, and that no land be sold, until it has been advertised, as aforesaid, for three full months at least.

X. The Superintendent shall send written notice of the place and time of sale, as also of any alteration under the provisions of Rule IX to the applicant; but no sale shall be disturbed in consequence of the nonreceipt of such notice or delayed in consequence of the nonappearance of the applicant.

XI. An applicant withdrawing his application prior to the sale of the lot, will be entitled to the refund of so much only of his deposit under Rule VI, as may not have been expended. If it should prove that the lot is not saleable under these Rules, the applicant must still pay the expense attendant on ascertaining the estimated area under Rule VIII.

XII. On the withdrawal of an application, it shall be discretional with the Superintendent to proceed with the sale of the lot or not, as he considers best for the public interests.

XIII. The upset price shall in all cases be two rupees an acre, to include all survey expenses. If the original applicant be the purchaser, he shall receive credit for his deposit in payment; otherwise the amount of deposit shall be paid to him at once from the sale proceed.

XIV. If, before the time of sale, no claim of private proprietorship, or of exclusive occupancy or of any other right incompatible with the sale of the lot under these Rules be preferred, the lot shall as advertised be put up to auction and sold to the highest bidder above the upset price, subject to an annual assessment after four years from 1st May in the year of sale of one rupee an acre, and after nine years of two rupees an acre on the whole area.

XV. The successful bidder shall, immediately on the sale being declared, pay down 10 per cent of the price and the residue of the purchase money

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shall be paid in full within 30 days. The sale shall be conducted under and subject to the following conditions of sale:— 648 656 423 425

XVI. 1. The highest bidder above the upset price shall be the purchaser of the lot, and if any dispute arise between two or more bidders at the same price, the lot shall immediately be put up again at the last preceding undisputed bidding and resold.

2. If the purchaser shall pay to the said Superintendent the residue of his purchase money, he shall thereupon be placed in possession of the lot pending survey.

3. All persons desirous of becoming purchasers are to satisfy themselves as to the identity and correct description and the estimated area and bounderies of the lot, previous to the sale; as by having the lot knocked down to him, the purchaser thereof shall be held to have waived all objections to any mistakes that may afterwards appear to have been made in the description of the lot, as well as to any other error whatever in the particulars of the property.

4. If the purchase shall not be completed by the thirtieth day from the day of sale, the purchaser shall pay to the Superintendent interest at the rate of 12 Rs. per cent per annum; on the remainder of his purchase money from the day of sale until the purchase shall be completed without prejudice nevertheless, to the right of resale reserved by the fifth condition, if not paid within one year.

5. If the purchaser shall neglect or refuse to comply with the above conditions, or any of them, his deposit money shall be forfeited and retained by Government, and the Government shall be at liberty to resell the lot either by public auction or private contract, without the necessity of previously tendering a conveyance to the purchaser at the present sale, who shall so neglect or refuse as and for liquidated damages.

XVII. If before the time of sale a claim of private proprietorship, or of exclusive occupancy or of any other right incompatible with the sale of the land under these Rules, shall be preferred to the lot or any part of it, the Superintendent shall postpone the sale of the lot until such claim shall be disposed of in due course of law.

XVIII. Reserves of grazing and forest land, of land for the growth of firewood, for building sites, and for land required for other special purposes, are not to be sold under these Rules without the express sanction of the Government.

XIX. As soon as the actual area of the lot purchased has been ascertained by survey, a grant shall be made to the purchaser (provided he shall have paid his purchase money in full) in the form hereto annexed and marked

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A. Should the actual area as ascertained by survey be more than $\frac{1}{10}$ less than the area as estimated before the sale, the purchaser shall be refunded a proportionate part of his purchase money in respect of such deficiency beyond $\frac{1}{10}$. Should the actual area be more than $\frac{1}{10}$ in excess of the area as estimated, such excess beyond $\frac{1}{10}$ shall revert to Government, and the purchaser shall forthwith yield up possession thereof.

XX. The annual assessment on lands sold under these Rules, may at any time be redeemed by the owner, by payment of a sum equal to 25 times the annual assessment of two rupees an acre on the whole area, and the lands so redeemed shall thereafter be for ever free from all demand on the part of the State on account of land revenue. On payment of the redemption money, the owner of the land shall be furnished with a deed in the form annexed to these Rules and marked B.

XXI. Arrears of annual assessment shall be recoverable in the same manner as arrears of Ryotwári-land-revenue are, or may be recoverable by the law for the time being in force in Coorg.

XXII. Lands sold or redeemed under these Rules, shall continue subject to all general taxes and local rates payable by law or custom.

XXIII. The existing and customary rights of Government, of other proprietors, and of the public in existing roads and paths and in streams running through or bounding lands sold under these Rules, are reserved and in no way affected by the sale of such lands under these Rules.

XXIV. Nothing contained in these Rules shall be held to debar the Government from granting waste land on Puttah, Cowle, or otherwise at their discretion as heretofore.

FORM A. (1).

By this deed made the ____ day of ____ between the Secretary of State for India in Council of the one part, and A. B. of ____ of the other part, in consideration of the purchase money or sum of Rs. ____ duly paid by the said A. B.

The said Secretary of State hereby grants to the said A. B., his heirs, representatives and assigns, the parcel of Government land situated in the village of ____ in ____ of the ____ taluq in the District of Coorg and included within the following boundaries: ____

Excepting and always reserving out of the said grant, to the said Secretary of State in Council, his successors and assigns, all such timber growing or to grow on the said land as by any rule or decision of the Government Forest Department for the time being, and from time to time, shall be determined or declared to belong to Government.

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And it is hereby declared, and the said A. B. for himself, his heirs, representatives and assigns, hereby agrees that the Government revenue assessed on and hereafter payable in respect of the said land is as follows: From the 1st May 18— to 30th April 18— no assessment. From the 1st May 18— to 30th April 18— annually one rupee per acre on the whole area. From 1st May 18— two rupees annually per acre on the whole area. 648 656 423 425

And that this grant shall not in any way affect the rights of the Government of any adjoining proprietor in respect to any road or stream running through or bounding any part of the said land, and that the said A. B., his heirs, representatives and assigns shall not cultivate any of the land within 5 yards of a public road, nor destroy any brushwood or grass forming a natural fringe or revetement to any road, nor dam up or contract any waterway made by the Public Works Department, and also shall and will at all times hereafter maintain in good repair at his and their own cost, the boundary marks of the said land erected by the Government Surveyor.

Signed, sealed, and delivered by the Commissioner for the Affairs of Coorg for and on behalf of the said Secretary of State and by the said A. B. The day and year first above written.

FORM A. (2.)

The same throughout as Form A. (1); instead of the third paragraph, however, beginning with: "And it is hereby declared etc." the following is substituted:

"Which said parcel of land shall henceforth be held by the said A. B. his heirs, representatives and assigns, freed and discharged from all claim in respect of Government revenue".

FORM B.

By this deed made the ... day of ____ between the Secretary of State for India in Council of the one part, and A. B. of the other part, in consideration of Rupees_____ duly paid by the said A. B., the said Secretary of State hereby absolutely and freely releases to the said A. B., his heirs, representatives and assigns, all Government land revenue hereafter accruing for or in respect of the parcel of land situate in the village of_____ in the taluq _____ and comprised within the following boundaries, (give the survey boundaries) and such parcel of land shall henceforth for ever be held by the said A. B., his heirs, representatives and assigns, free of any Government rent.

Signed, sealed, etc. as in Form A.

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The Registration of these Assurances according to Act XVI of 1864 appears not to be much appreciated by the natives, who shrewdly remark, that, if the Chief Commissioner's signature to their title-deeds cannot assure their validity unless registered by a local Official, what is the good at all of these documents; in fact they do not seem to care for them and are likewise prejudiced against the obligatory registration of their Jamma-sannads.

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Amended Rules for carrying out the substitution of an acreage on Coffee lands for the Halut or excise duty.

I. Surveyed estates, held free since 1st May 1860 are liable to be assessed at one rupee an acre on the whole area from the 1st May 1864.

II. Unsurveyed estates held free since 1st May 1860 to be assessed according to the proprietors' estimated area subject to adjustment of rent, if more or less than $\frac{1}{16}$ difference on the survey reaching them.

III. All Government unassessed lands granted for Coffee cultivation, whether cultivated or waste, to count for assessment from date of grant, or the land to be given up and the grant resigned.

IV. Every Coffee holding on Government Cardamom land of which the Cardamom rent has ceased to be paid, will count for assessment at one rupee an acre on the whole area from the 1st May in that year when the rent ceased.

V. Cardamom plots taken up for Coffee cultivation but still waste, and paying rent to Government annually until expiration of lease in 1865-66, will be assessed at one rupee an acre on the whole area from the first May 1866 or lapse to Government on that date.

249 VI. Cardamom plots wholly cultivated will be assessed (as if on the fifth year) from the year on which Cardamom rent ceased to be paid.

VII. All lands now liable to assessment will be charged upon the estimated area in acres, as returned last year, unless corrected by the tenants at time of assessment, which in each case will be subject to adjustment on survey.

VIII. In all cases of adjustment of rent, whether to credit of Government or the tenant, to take place from the first instalment of rent due after the land has been surveyed.

IX. In all cases when the survey papers and title-deed are ready for

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delivery, the cost of the survey must be paid at the Superintendent's Treasury, before the papers are handed over.

X. Every title-deed should have entered on its back the years and rates of assessment payable to the Government on the land which it represents.

XI. The assessment when directed to be commenced should be conducted at Mercara by the Superintendent, by Taluqs and Nádu, one Register for each Nád being completed before proceeding to another on the basis of the Registry of areas of coffee lands taken last year.

XII. The Bâne-lands of the Coorgs being included in their Sannads as part of a tenure with a permanently fixed rent, and assigned hereditarily to them for ever, not to be subject to the assessment of coffee lands; unless when cultivation is over 10 acres, such land be separated from the varga or farm.

XIII. Coffee gardens, backyards, and fields in and around the suburbs of towns, if one acre or upwards in extent, to be assessed under the new Rules.

XIV. Valuable timber in forests already in possession and about to be felled, to be purchased by the tenant paying a royalty upon each tree.

XV. The Settlement-Office to commence a Register by Taluqs and Nádu, taking the Survey Register at Mercara for a basis, but completing all the holdings in each Nád without reference to the survey having reached them or not.

W. H. KERR,
Superintendent.

Superintendent's Office,
Mercara, 4th August 1864.

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Until lately, when, to swell the meagre returns of the Forest Department, the *rents from cardamom jungles* were transferred to its accounts, this assessment formed a legitimate item of the land revenue and amounted in 1869-70 to Rs. 32,796—2—2. Lieut. Connor states, that in Lingarájender's time the revenue from this source amounted to Surat Rupees 100,800. Dr. Moegling mentions Rs. 80,000 as the average return in the time of the Rájahs. (vide p. 91.) To explain the great difference between these returns, the natives say, that the item in the Rájahs' accounts does not represent a rent but the profit made by the sale of the cardamoms which were Sirkar monopoly. If this statement is

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

651 correct, it is rather surprising, that the English Government
423 was less successful in its profits from the same monopoly!
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General Fraser in his "Rules" or Hukumnáma of August 1834 promulgated in Para 31:

"As some of the ryots are in the possession of cardamom grounds, they shall as hithertofore deliver their whole produce to the Sirkar. They shall be paid at the rate of 20 Rs. per maund of the first sort, 17 Rs. for the second sort, 15 Rs. for the third and 12 Rs. per maund, if the cardamom seeds have been removed from the capsules. They are prohibited from selling their cardamoms to any other person but only to the Sirkar. If they violate this rule, they shall be fined in a sum equal to double the value of the cardamoms which they have offered for sale to other persons".

Yet in turning to the Revenue Statistics of 1834-35 the entry under "Cardamoms" shows only Rs. 7,348—4—11, and in 1842-43 it sank as low as Rs. 3,744—4—0; but in 1856-57, when the cardamom jungles were leased by Government, the revenue suddenly rose to Rs. 26,512—12—8. May the falling off of this revenue be perhaps accounted for by Capt. LeHardy's arrangement as proposed in para 159 of his Jammabandi Report of 1834-35?

"There are at present five separate establishments employed in superintending the cardamom grounds; but, it appears that the duties of three of these may with advantage be transferred to the Párapatiagárs of Nádu bordering on the Western Ghats on giving the latter a small increase of establishment."

This arrangement must have weakened the control over the most exposed and productive jungles. Cardamoms being worth in the market from Rs. 50 to 65, the Government rate of payment viz. Rs. 12 to 20 per maund offered a strong inducement to smuggle the spice beyond the Ghats and to sell it in Malabar!

651 Drawing the administration of land revenue to a close,
423 we may remark, that the routine of collecting the revenue
635 and the class of functionaries engaged in the work are much
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the same as organised by General Fraser in 1834. According to his Hukumnáma

Para 12. "The Subadárs Párapatiagárs and Sheristadárs are to pay particular attention to the cultivation of their respective Taluqs. The increase of the land revenue being entirely dependent on the exertions and activity of the Subadárs and Párapatiagárs, they shall use their best endeavours to extend cultivation by giving every encouragement to the ryots."

P. 13. "In the months of January and February the Subadár and Sheristadárs in conjunction with the Párapatiagárs shall visit every village in the Náds and make an enquiry through the Patéls into the state of the village and the circumstances of the ryots. They shall ascertain whether the whole of the ryots of the villages are capable of bringing under culture the uncultivated land. In cases where the ryots may not be able to cultivate the whole of the land which they possess, they shall be encouraged, and advances shall be made to them for buying bullocks, seed, ploughs and other implements of husbandry, the same being reported to the Huzur. The amount of these advances shall be recovered from the ryots after the crops are reaped."

P. 19. "The Subadárs and the Párapatiagárs shall administer the revenues of their districts in such a manner as may be advantageous both to the Sirkar and to the ryots and which may increase the happiness of the people and the prosperity of their respective Taluqs and Náds. They should not hesitate to suggest to the Sirkar such measures as may, in their opinion, be calculated to improve either the revenue or in any other respect the well-being of the country."

P. 20. "In the months of June, July and August the Párapatiagárs shall again go to the villages and institute an investigation assisted by the Patéls into the state of the cultivation and send reports to the Subadárs, who shall submit an abstract thereof to the Huzur."

P. 21. "In October and November the Subadárs, Sheristadárs, Párapatiagárs and Shánabhógs shall visit the villages and Náds and inspect the crops and send an arzi (report) to the Huzur, reporting the degree of improvement which may have been made in cultivation, the state of the crops and also the damages, if any, which the crops may have suffered from any accident, either from the overflow of nullahs (streams) or depredations of elephants, etc."

P. 24. "In December the Subadárs and Sheristadárs are to repair to the Huzur Kacheri and assist in the preparation of the Jummabandi accounts in the usual manner. They shall according to custom give an agreement

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423 (kai-kágada) stating that they will collect the kists (instalments of revenue) from the ryots and remit the amount to the Huzur."

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634 For the supposed convenience of the ryots Government allows them now to pay:

2	Annas	of	each	Rupee	of assessment in January
3	"	"	"	"	February
4	"	"	"	"	March
4	"	"	"	"	April
3	"	"	"	"	May.

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423 On the Superintendent's annual tour of inspection—*Jamma-bandi*—throughout the province, a halt is made for two or three days in each Nád to review and settle its accounts etc. The business consists generally of little more, than the mere form of reading over to the ryots the detailed statements of the quantity of land cultivated and amount of assessment payable by each.

As Head-quarters move on, the Superintendent is accompanied by the Jamma-ryots of the Nád and preceded by a native band of musicians. On approaching the boundary of another division, long files of stalwart peasantry are marshalled on the border to receive and conduct him through their Nád. On a bamboo frame-work prasáda (offering of food) is spread in his honor, consisting of oranges, plantains, coccoanuts and flowers, the Párapatiagár and Patéls offer limes and flower-wreaths, kind words are interchanged, local wants discussed and the Queen's honored representative marches on to his encamping ground, which is always the most picturesque spot of the Nád.

Since 1834 the steady progress of the land revenue, exclusive of cardamom and coffee, is exhibited in the subjoined quinquennial statement.

1834-35	Rs.	89,915.	1854-55	Rs.	128,917.
1839-40	"	102,270.	1858-59	"	145,949.
1844-45	"	108,498.	1864-65	"	167,803.
1849-50	"	127,118.	1869-70	"	150,661.